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RAND'S HERMAN KAHN MAKES CASE FOR "TOLERABLE" H-WAR

The recent publication by Princeton University Press of *On Thermonuclear War,* by Herman Kahn, has spelled out for American pacifists and "nuclear pacifists" the kind of thinking they confront in any attempt to achieve disarmament and peace. Mr. Kahn is the best-known of the celebrated "big brains" of the Rand Corporation, which is the "think factory" of the Air Force. His book has been widely acclaimed as the definitive work on "realistic" preparations for nuclear war, and presumably reflects to an unnerving degree the kind of cerebrations now going on in the Pentagon.

Mr. Kahn's theme may be summed up in three sentences. (1) Disarmament and world government are "utopian." (2) "First-strike deterrence" and "counterforce" for retaliation are the principal hopes for peace. (3) It will be quite possible to survive a thermonuclear war if it comes and to rebuild the American society afterward if we plan for it. (A neat chart neatly entitled "Tragic but Distinguishable Postwar States" even predicts how long "economic recuperation" will take in the event of varying numbers of American dead: one year for 2 million dead; 5 years for 20 million; 50 years for 80 million; a century for 160 million. All very tidy.)

Kahn's reasoning, described by one critic as "the Higher Incoherence, otherwise known as the game-theory approach to nuclear age strategy," is to reject all moral or religious values in weighing preparations for possible war and to calculate quite dispassionately what price (in dead and genetically deformed) the country is willing to pay to "stop Russia." He seems to come out at the conclusion that 180 million deaths is "too high a price to pay for punishing the Soviets for their aggressions," and "Almost nobody wants to go down in history as the first man to kill 100 million people." Somewhere around 60 million, though, seems to be okay. Added to this would be "the high risk of an additional one percent of our children being born deformed," but this does not seem too serious to Mr. Kahn if it is "borne by our descendants and not by our own generation."

"This Evil Book"

"Herman Kahn, we are told, is 'one of the very few who have managed to avoid the "mental block" so characteristic of writers on nuclear warfare.' The mental block consists, if I am not mistaken, of a scruple for life. This evil and tenebrous book, with its loose-lipped pieties and its hayfoot-strawfoot logic, is permeated with bloodthirsty irrationality such as I have not seen in my years of reading." --*James R. Newman*

In an impassioned review of the book in the March issue of *Scientific American,* James R. Newman refers to the "ecstatic foreword" in which Princeton's Klaus Knorr remarks that "this is not a book about the moral aspects of military problems." "The disclaimer is much to the point," writes Newman; "it is exactly wrong. This is a moral tract on murder: how to plan it, how to commit it, how to justify it."

And an AFSC staff member wrote to Norman Whitney of a conference with Kahn: "I find it hard to describe the

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Rand's Herman Kahn *(cont'd)*

almost physical nausea with which I was afflicted in these two days. This was the first time I had ever been with these kinds of people; these are the men who control, at one remove, the destinies of the world."

(Note: Be sure to read the full Newman review of the Kahn book. Mimeographed copies available from FOR on request.)

2,000 Protest U.S. Polaris Sub Base

Over 2,000 people took part in a sit-down demonstration in London on Feb. 18, protesting the basing of United States missile-carrying Polaris submarines in Britain. Led by Nobel prize philosopher Bertrand Russell and pacifist clergyman Michael Scott, the group marched eight blocks from Trafalgar Square to the Ministry of Defense where they sat for three hours. Squads of policemen barred the group from entering the ministry building, but Lord Russell was finally permitted to tack to its door a declaration urging "the complete rejection by our country of nuclear weapons and all policies and alliances that depend upon them." Copies of the declaration were also sent to the U.S., French and Soviet Embassies, with a letter protesting the stockpiling of nuclear weapons by those governments. None of the group was arrested. Counter-demonstrations by the League of Empire Loyalists, an extreme right-wing group, and others were negligible.

The demonstration was organized by the Committee of One Hundred which is advocating nonviolent civil disobedience in a campaign to abolish nuclear weapons. Prominent members of the Committee include Bertrand Russell, Michael Scott and Sir Herbert Read.

A similar protest occurred in Glasgow, Scotland, on Feb. 18, where more than 7,000 Scots marched in a two-mile long protest against the proposed Polaris missile base in Holy Loch. One group of demonstrators rowed out into Holy Loch during the night and fixed anti-Polaris placards on buoys marking the base area.

Jones Released from York County Jail

Former FOR Student Secretary J. Charles Jones and three other Negro students were released from the County Prison Farm in York, S.C., on March 9 following a month's imprisonment for participation in a Rock Hill, S.C. drug-store sit-in. The four, who were jailed along with nine other Negroes previously arrested for sit-ins, were joined in jail by a Negro minister and two others involved in local anti-segregation demonstrations. This makes a total of sixteen including two girls, who chose 30-day jail sentences rather than post bond. Eight were put in solitary confinement for "singing hymns at devotions" and "slowing-down" on farm tasks in objection to overwork. The eight also fasted for three days in protest against severe treatment at the prison. Many FOR members, in response to an FOR appeal, sent letters of encouragement to the students and also wrote messages to the mayor of Rock Hill protesting their imprisonment.

In Sumter, S.C., on March 2, thirteen Congress of Racial Equality leaders, all of them students, were convicted of various "crimes" in connection with sit-in demonstrations. Three were convicted of breach of the peace for sitting-in at the local S.H. Kress lunch counter. Nine others, who were walking to the sit-in, were convicted of parading without a permit. One other was convicted of resisting arrest.

NEWS from the peace front

At press time, the FOR had received orders for over 20,000 grain bags in its Food for China campaign. The bags carry the slogan "If thine enemy hunger, feed him..." and are addressed to President Kennedy. The bags are available from FOR at 10¢ each or 5¢ in quantities of ten or more. Most of the orders have come in as a result of the FOR's half-page advertisement in *The New York Times* on Jan. 22, announcing the campaign. Contributions totaling $2,500 have helped to pay for the ad and for administrative expenses of the campaign.

A new issue of "Famine Facts," giving up-to-date information on conditions in China, is now available free of charge from Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

* * *

A rally protesting the assignment of Adolf Heusinger to the post of Chairman of the Permanent Committee of NATO in Washington, D. C. was held at Curtis Hall in Chicago last month. Heusinger, former chief of operations in the German Army in World War II has been charged with "the responsibility for the murder of two million Jews by the *Einsatzgruppen* under his command. He was also branded a war criminal by the UN, according to the Jewish Cultural Clubs of Chicago, sponsors of the rally.

* * *

FOR members Tracy D. Mygatt and Frances Witherspoon received the 1961 WRL Peace Award at the Annual Dinner of the War Resisters League in New York City in January. The two women were honored for their "lifelong devotion to the struggle against war and for a peaceful world."

* * *

"Operation Abolition," the controversial film recently put out by the House Un-American Activities Committee, has been charged by the editors of *The Christian Century* as "a new and dangerous form of mccarthyism." Depicting a student demonstration at HUAC hearings in San Francisco last year, the film attempts to prove that any protest against it is Communist-inspired. Efforts are being made by the Committee, the American Legion and other groups to have it shown in schools, churches, etc., around the country. A mimeographed sheet describing the film, what some editorials and the National Council of Churches have said about it, and what you can do to oppose it, is available free of charge from FOR, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. Also, a reprint of *The Christian Century* article "Operation Abolition" by FOR member Robert Moon and editorials concerning the film is available from The Christian Century Foundation, 407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 5, Ill., at 10¢ a copy.

* * *

Operation Freedom is seeking to raise $250,000 through gifts and loans to meet the needs of hundreds of Negroes in Fayette and Haywood counties, Tenn., who were ordered off their land for voting in the last election. OF, a special campaign to gather and disburse money for the Negroes, has already received $8,600 much of which has been used to help pay for housing facilities, retention of farm equipment and other needs of the people. Meanwhile, tons of food, clothing and soap have been sent to the Negroes from the Mennonite Central Committee.

The National Baptist Convention, one of the largest Negro denominations in the U.S., has offered land "for lease, rent or sale" to help the farmers' resettlement. The Baptist group has bought 196 acres and may purchase 400 more.

Donations or loans to Operation Freedom should be sent in care of FOR member Maurice F. McCrackin, 1111 Dayton St., Cincinnati, 14, Ohio.

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FOR member Bishop Matthew W. Clair Jr., of St. Louis, Mo., has been elected chairman of a special Methodist Commission to Study the Christian

(Continued on next page)

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Please allow 4 weeks—supply both old and new address.

Faith and War in the Nuclear Age. The 12-member commission, authorized by the 1960 General Conference of the denomination, elected Bishop Clair at an organizational meeting in Chicago. Other FOR members named to the commission are John M. Swomley Jr., Walter Muelder and Georgia Harkness.

LIT NOTES

"Neither Run Nor Hide - The Case Against Civil Defense" by FOR Executive Secretary Alfred Hassler is now available from the Fellowship. This 16-page pre-print of an article which will appear in the May 1 FELLOWSHIP is a well documented exposé of the fallacies inherent in the arguments for Civil Defense. Price: 15¢ a copy. Order from Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

MISSING MEMBERS

If you know the whereabouts of any of these missing members, please advise the Membership Secretary, FOR, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

Here are the names, with last-known addresses where available: Alice W.S. Brimson (Chicago, Ill.); Mrs. May Brummer (Melbourne, Fla.); Gordon C. Broadarmel (Wooster, Ohio); Alan P. Brockway (Ithaca, N.Y.); Dr. and Mrs. Jack R. Brown (Kirkland, Wash.); Rev. James W. Brown (Austin 22, Tex.); Lynn E. Brown Jr., (Brockport, N.Y.); Rev. O.H. Brown (Buffalo 4, N.Y.); Mrs. Priscill Brown (Boulder, Colo.); Rex E. Brow (N. Kansas City 16, Mo.); Rev. To Brown (Malden, Mass.); Rev. Willia R. Brown III (Wichita, Kan.) John H Broy, (Los Angeles 32, Cal.).

DATES TO REMEMBER

March 26-April 1. Walk and Rally fo Peace in Chicago area. For informatio write: AFSC, 300 West Congress Park way, Chicago 7, Ill.

March 28-April 1. Walk and Rally fo Peace in San Francisco area. For in formation write: AFSC, 2160 Lake St. San Francisco 21, Cal.

March 30-April 1. "Witness for Peace' at Fort Detrick, the Atomic Energy Com mission and the Pentagon. Write: Vigi at Fort Detrick, 326 West Patrick St. Frederick, Md.

April 3-7. Easter Youth Conference a Syskon College, Highgate, London, N.6 England. Topic: necessity of pacifism for Christians and nuclear disarmers. Write: British FOR, 29 Great James St. London, W. C. 1.

April 6-8. FOR National Council Meet ings at FOR national headquarters i Nyack, N. Y.

May 25. New York FOR dinner at Chris Church (Methodist), 530 Park Ave., N.Y For reservations write: A.J. Muste, 47 Riverside Drive, New York

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